612 621 622 631 /20 cont./ A kampong head was appointed to rule over a kampong territory. This head thereby also obtained authority over the members of other groups of relatives which gradually came to live in that territory. Formerly, it is probably true to say, such a new group would have built up a small power center of its own there and would have displaced the existing one. Today such a group must actualize such a striving for power within fixed territorial administrative boundaries. This occurs frequently through a struggle for the headship of the region concerned, whether it is a kampong, an adat community, or a kingdom. The idea remained that a genealogical group should be in command of the territory inhabited by this group, and thus also of all those who lived in it. The striving for this can be observed repeatedly.

612 621 This striving is always directed primarily against the other group living in the territory which approaches the first-mentioned most closely in standing, in this case, therefore, the Mangenre group. But in view of the fact that this group is small and little integrated, the members of the Kapala group do not feel themselves threatened, and accordingly little is perceptible of their striving.

The same picture that was here given with regard to Bontoramba can also be observed in the majority of the other kampongs. A sample made in 1940 in kampong Pakatta indicated that there two groups of relatives of almost equal size resided in the kampong territory with a few separate households (a very small Rest group, therefore).

[634] The only related group in the adat community which occupied an entire kampong territory practically by itself was that of the adat community head. Members of this group live distributed over two to three kampong territories. As the headman's group of relatives, however, they stand in contrast to all other Borongloë groups of relatives in the adat community territory. [567] A few households of slaves (1) and a few separate

1. See below pp. 149 ff.

[567]

612 /20 cont./ households are the only non-kinsmen who live in
621 their kampong territory. /21/ In each case, therefore, one encounters two more or less strongly integrated groups of relatives per territory, with, in addition, a nonintegrated Rest group regarded as small and insignificant.

612 Furthermore, it appeared that members of one and the same related group lived scattered all over South Celebes. In this respect, too, there is therefore no question of unity between a related group and its territory. The reason for this is evident. For this it is first necessary to show how a related group should be conceived.

The territorial division taken as a starting point in the investigation described above has the advantage of making a sharp demarcation possible, namely a division between houses inside and outside the kampong border. The related group as a genealogical unit lacks these sharply defined boundaries. An individual frequently belongs to more than one group of relatives, and people who are closely related to each other, first cousins, for instance, thus often belong not only to a common kin group, but also to mutually distinct ones. This is a direct consequence of the fact that marriages are regularly contracted between people who are not of the same kin group.

582 A child resulting from such a marriage may contract an
611 endogamous marriage either in his father's group of relatives
612 or in that of his mother, because through his father he belongs to the latter's related group, and through his mother to hers. And where father and mother in their turn were born to a man and wife who were not related to each other, the same child can contract an endogamous marriage in any one of the four different groups of relatives of the four grandparents. After all, he belongs to four different groups of relatives.

612 It is clear that a division of the Makassarese into sharply distinguished groups of relatives is fully imaginary.. Each individual belongs to more than one group of relatives and would therefore also have to be apportioned to more than one such

114 174 565 586 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba, and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana [567] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves. As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement loses its force.

114 174 565 582 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes. Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that, simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 174 565 [591] Of the four common characteristics, the mention of patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding. My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure, superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

583 /89 cont./ If one wants to obtain a general view of the amount of sunrang paid in the course of one year, the following figures will serve that purpose. In Borongloë (a good 14, 000 inhabitants), the Imam, charged with keeping the marriage registers, had to record 107 marriages between July 1, 1948 and July 1, 1949. Of these, the sunrang amounted:

in 2 cases to 26 reals
in 24 cases to 24 reals
in 2 cases to 22 reals
in 77 cases to 20 reals
in 1 case to 12 reals
in 1 case to 5.00 guldens.

563 583 The amount of 5.00 guldens was registered at a marriage between Javanese who were part of a group of approximately 200, living together in kampong Pakatto. This low sunrang, for the Makassarese regard the amount as such, is one of the reasons why the latter are inclined to regard the Javanese as people of the very lowest status.

● 567 583 The sunrang of 12 reals was paid to the father of a woman who was regarded as a slave of the adat community head.

565 583 602 Nine of these 107 marriages were contracted between individuals from the kampong Bontoramba. In seven of these nine cases, the sunrang was not 20 but 24 reals, and in only two cases was it 20 reals. This situation which, if one considers the total number of marriages for which 24 and 20 reals were paid respectively, is very unusual and can only be partly interpreted. For each of the seven cases the people were able to give a certain reason. These follow here.

/90/ Both a son as well as a daughter of the Kapala of Bontoramba were married in this year. For both a sunrang of 24 reals was regarded as appropriate. In the case of one couple, the mother of the wife had Buginese kinsmen among whom, in their own country, a much higher sunrang than that of 20 reals was always paid. In the case of another couple, the woman was regarded as related to the adat community head; "she was not equal" (tena nasangkamma), said the Imam, and therefore

/113 cont./
Slaves (ata)

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Matthes translates the term ata by "slave," "servant," "subject." This translation is still correct, even today. When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble confederates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same time, of the speaker himself.

[554
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It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

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[644]

Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave," it appears that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friederic reports that they were generally despised, but that court slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed

1. H. J. Friederic,
Dissertation, p. 551.

social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

567 /114 cont./ though slaves were despised, insofar as I was able to find out, the treatment which they received cannot have been bad, " writes Friedericy (1). According to Friedericy,

1. Ibid.

around 1905 slaves displayed the following chief characteristics:

1. Slaves were made by kidnapping (in time of war), through purchase, and through judicial sentences.
2. Slaves were regarded as persons without rights.
3. Slaves had a special sunrang lower than that of other people.
4. For slaves, ties with their master, not those with their kinsmen, were of prime importance.

With respect to these points, an investigation into present-day conditions prevailing among this group yielded the following results:

178 567 1. Kidnapping, trade in human beings, and sentencing to slavery through judicial sentence have been officially forbidden since around 1905. These practices may have continued during the first few years after that date, but soon after they no longer /115/ took place (1). Consequently, no new slaves

1. This refers to the area of the self-governments, which did not come under the direct influence of the government until 1905. Only then could the "abolition of slavery" be carried out effectively there.

were added.

2. At present there are no people left who are regarded to be without personal rights before the judge. If there are, for instance, people who have no land of their own, it is never

178 /115 cont./ stated that they may not possess land, but only
567 that they do not need it because they are already being taken care of. Everyone knows that these people are free to move elsewhere to live and purchase or clear land. In several judicial proceedings it appeared that lower people were able to assert their rights against higher people.

178 3. In the above-mentioned regulation issued by the Prince
567 of Goa, which set the amount of the sunrang for different ranks
583 and classes in his realm, the sunrang for "the Prince's slaves" was fixed at 12 reals. No mention is made of other slaves. In the marriage register of the adat community of Borongloë, this sunrang for slaves was registered twice during the period from 1940 to 1949. However, they were not slaves of the Prince of Goa but slaves belonging to the adat community head and to a member of one of the prominent groups of relatives in kampong Pakatto, for whom the royal slaves' sunrang was entered.

4. Of a number of persons it may be said that they live with, and work for, their master. They have no land of their own. Their group of relatives comprises only a few families and is neither integrated nor traditional. They take part in the worship community of their master.

With these data before us, it is idle to debate whether someone is a slave or not, for example, because his parents were "slaves," and because a sunrang of 12 reals was paid for his marriage, but who, after all, is free to go wherever he likes, and has set up a trade in Macassar. While in his kampong he is still regarded as a hereditary slave because of his origin; in Macassar he is considered a clever tradesman.

178 The number of those who are regarded as slaves in their
567 own kampong is diminishing. No new slaves are being added to this number; rather it is decreasing. In some cases this process even came about /116/ through an official declaration of emancipation (sura' maradeka) issued by the master. This happened as late as 1939 in Mandar (1). In the majority of

178 /116 cont./ 1. Legally, of course, such a declaration of emancipation has not the slightest significance since the official emancipation of all slaves by the government.
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cases, however, the emancipation was brought about by the fact that children of slaves moved to other regions and there obtained the same opportunities as other independent individuals in their striving to rise. A family can be said to be still regarded as slaves in the kampong only if it is generally known that the respective parents were slaves, that at their marriage the slaves' sunrang was paid, and that this marriage was entirely regulated and provided for by the master, and if this couple has then continued to live in the same kampong, does not own any land there but works the land of the master, and further performs the customary tasks for him.

Put in general terms, this implies that in Borongloë, at present, contempt is expressed only when marriage possibilities are discussed. Then it appears that ordinary people (tau samara') prefer not to enter into marriage ties with such people. Their marrying chances -- and this applies particularly to the young men -- are limited. Further, I noticed a certain contempt only when, as an investigator, I made inquiries concerning their official position. The work that the slaves perform is the same as the work performed by many others who are regarded as followers.
[582]

In 1883, Kooreman did not mention slaves in his definition of the concept of followers. For him, slaves form a group apart.
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Friederic (2) in his analysis of Makassarese-Buginese

2. See Friederic, idem., p. 582.

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaëng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaëng about his ata, but about /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place himself on a level with a karaëng and thereby make himself ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

[641]

1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë had the active right to vote. In point of fact they participated in the election. Before the war I made no inquiries into this matter. On page 552 of his dissertation (1933), Friedericy reports that slaves were barred from the right to vote with respect to the heads placed over them. Here he is referring to the slaves belonging to the karaëng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaëng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

178 /117 cont./ taken over by lower groups, like so many other
565 cultural elements belonging to the highest group. In this case,
567 the possession of slaves was not prohibited by this highest group to the lower ones, but at the same time it was not simply permitted, either. This explains why, in his first conversations with the investigator, the adat community head claimed the number of his ata to be very large. At the same time it explains why, when the ata question was repeatedly brought up, he later remarked that it was a little silly to talk so much about his ata.

Most of the external characteristics that distinguished slaves during Kooreman's, and perhaps still in Friedericy's, time have disappeared. A single characteristic to be found with only a few individuals today is still reminiscent of a complex which half a century ago occupied a much more important place in the culture.

Loyalty Oath

521 Whenever Makassarese men between fifteen and thirty-five years of age -- referring to those I have in mind -- are together, it is a part of etiquette to tell tales which give to the observer an impression of boasting and exaggeration. Successes with women (always unrecognizably indicated in the vaguest terms), successes gained in a fight, or a victory in a verbal battle, they like to elaborate on all these. A valiant deed or a regal gesture is not kept quiet. In describing a feast, the number of buffaloes slaughtered for the occasion, the number of guests present, and the length of the festival are always made to appear as great as possible. Earlier festivals, in these stories, invariably surpass /118/ those of present times in all respects. The size of the speaker's own group of relatives in the past is clearly represented in this manner to those now alive, and thus also to the younger men, who are always among the audience.

Lesser Sundas OF1
Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Nias OD11

Ambon OH4
Moluccas OH2
Batak OD5
Minangkabau OD10

[420 cont.]

Most of the burghers are Christians, although there are a also Mohammedans among them. In the militia the latter are armed with pikes, the former with guns.

[421]

Chapter 18

a. Slavery; b. Bondage

a. Slavery

Actually, slavery should no longer exist in the Malay Archipelago. Article 115 of the Government Regulations abolished slavery throughout the Indies as of January 1, 1860, at the latest. Nevertheless, it is far from disappearing. Slavery still exists in many areas of the Indies where our authority has not or has not fully been established, and in some other areas it was only recently abolished. For instance, in the Padang Highlands and in the Batak lands, both of which are under our authority, slavery was not abolished until 1876. It still exists in Silindoeng and Padang Lawas, which were annexed in 1877, as well as in the independent Batak lands. It is also found on Nias and among the Dajak [Dyak], at least among the tribes that inhabit the interior, and among the Buginese and Makassarese, and furthermore on the various islands of the Lesser Sunda group. We shall discuss this briefly. The origins of slavery vary and are threefold in nature. One becomes a slave:

1. by being made a prisoner of war,
2. as a consequence of punishment for committing a crime,
3. on account of debt (1) [footnote 1 is not referred to in the text].

1. Cf. Wilken, "Het Pandrecht bij de volken van den O.I. Archipel [Liens among the Peoples of the East Indies Archipelago]," Bijdr. T.L. en Vk. v.,

BK [426 cont.]
567 masters if he can find someone who is willing to pay his debt to his master. This is more or less a brighter side of bondage, because a bondman can, if he has a bad master, at least try to improve his lot. Apart from this difference, bondage and slavery are very much alike. Many people look down on bondmen with as much disdain as on slaves.

MK In Celebes, more specifically among the Buginese and
● 567 Makassarese, persons become slaves through debts. It can hap-
426 pen that a person has many debts, his own or inherited ones,
727 which he cannot pay himself and which the family refuses to pay. If the creditor agrees that the person may work for him until the debt has been paid, then he becomes a bondman, but if the creditor is not satisfied with that and neither the sovereign nor the hadat (state council) loans the money, then the debtor is sold (1)

1. Niemann, "De Latowa," Bijdr. T., L. en Vlk, v. Ned. Ind., 4th series, Vol. VIII, p. 227.

and becomes the slave of whomever buys him. Furthermore, one becomes a slave by selling himself, by being sold as a prisoner of war, or as punishment for wrongdoing against the state council or the sovereign.

MK The slaves may be declared free if the behave well or
Bt if they buy their freedom.
Bl
567 [427] A special instance when slaves are declared free is
764 at funerals. We mentioned this earlier for Bali; here we want to point to the Batak and Buginese, among whom the same custom exists (1).

1. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wrdb., see mangalopas (lopasan). Neumann, Tijdschrift Ned. Aard. Gen., Vol. IV, p. 40.

Maknssar OG6
Sadang OG8

S 691 683 578 828 Then I remembered a night in Makale hearing Karaeng Djongala (whom I met again, remarkably, on a trip in Makale, and found to be not a bad fellow at all, and now speaking Dutch) and de Boer comparing notes regarding legal cases. De Boer said eighty cases a month was not at all uncommon, while the Karaeng said that in his place in Makale there were perhaps twenty, mainly knifings.

A police fellow and the Controleur said that there was much irrational knifing here too. The pattern seems to run something like this. First people become panas hati [literally, hot livered, i.e., hot tempered--Analyst],then they kill someone, and finally become all right. They consider themselves not to be criminals, but victims of unbearable emotion, and thus not really criminals.

M 212 871 556 Regarding literacy, Andi said that the percentage of literates here now is about 27 per cent, and this is used by him as a reason for not taking over democracy for a long time. This in turn might enable them to maintain control just as the Dutch did. However, they are setting up schools rapidly, and so are slitting their own throats. Maybe they are sincere, but I look for trouble. As for schools I asked a number of questions today (my last day in Bone this trip). There are village schools for the first three years. Then students may go on to a continuing school in town, in Bukaka which is not far away. Or they may enter the sekolah agama [(Islamic) religious school], in which religion and Arabic are taught. The sekolah agama is located in the village. I got the feeling that these religious schools are losing out in competition with town schools. Only the rich can afford to go beyond the second year high school level, as it is necessary to go to Makassar. I asked about the poor and they said there were no scholarships, so they were usually only able to attend the desa schools. Beyond that they might possibly go to the sekolah agama. In Watampone the breakdown is something like this. There are six years of primary schooling offered followed by four years of middle instruction. After these ten years, if a further education is desired, students must go to Makassar. There is a normal school in Watampone for desa school teachers, but for higher normal training one must go to Makassar. Thus there seems to be the same problem as in the United States. There is a need for schools in every town and at all levels because the poor cannot pay room and board in big towns away from home. This leads on to the

M 556 465 651 735 question of the poor again (I always stress the factor of social mobility in America). The village folks said there were many poor people. They usually live with richer (though none are really rich) people in the houses of the latter and work for

● 567

Makassar OG6
Celebes OG1

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua.

M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads.

M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over"

M 471 443 563

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C 647 563 152 829

this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

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[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded. But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman. I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I described the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests.

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him. 584 834

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans. 125

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's. 565 558 567

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell plenty in order to send him to school. 855

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 567 558 166 152 000

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one family. They said that they had a very small house and were very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
592 houses have many more. The population has risen some despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many places, especially to Banjermasin to work in connection with rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk about it, but they have no money so they have to remain. When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in. I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies. They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world, but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
207 and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay. There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst] put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

000 Mission, Timor. He said that the Catholics have a great organization, and that they do not force Christianity. They do not try to change the habits and clothing of the people. They tell the natives to do as they wish, and change as they please. But the Protestants force changes in clothing, tell them that they are damned if they do not change, etc. On Flores, west of Endeh, the Jesuits have worked far up into the mountains. They had a printing press in Endeh. They also have model farms, including a dairy. They train and educate the young, for example, they have trained the best agricultural man in Timor. He is a native priest who was sent to Wageningen, and then on his return was put into the governmental service. He pays rich returns because he is in the intimate councils of the government and knows all about the radjas, etc. Thus, by clever work, the Catholics have gained much control. Timor is not so good, as it is more influenced by the Protestants. This, of course, is the opinion of van der Wetering (whose views I do not always trust, but he may have something here). He said the system of the Jesuits is that when they start a mission they get money for five years. After that it must be self-supporting. And according to him it usually is.

565 Balombaru: Classes existed (exist?) within the slave
● 567 group too, and it is not the usual hereditary as against new slave idea, but rather that a slave of a noble feels superior to a slave of a commoner, and all grades in between. Thus, as I suppose is the case with servants in England, if you are a maid of a duchess you feel superior to the maid of a baroness. Thus the class idea ramifies, and pangkat is the essence of the whole social functioning.

175 Balombaru: September 3, 1949. Fourth day: First I went
743 to the leprosarium to give my books to the nurse. She told me about some awful Javan atrocities after the Japanese defeat in Surabaja. They even shot into the hospital from trees. The idea seemed to her to be to kill all white people.
181 She [i.e., the head nurse at the Balombaru leper asylum--
621 Analyst] said that the natives have no initiative, though there
743 is more evidence of some form of initiative here than in Java. She divided the colony into three kampongs. Each with an elected kepala kampong. They come to her only if they cannot settle cases.

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He knew of Latowa and
[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala,
bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the
maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are
ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are des-
cendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear
that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even
look different. But he added their women are often prettier
than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women,
however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that
keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc.
might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on
saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the
women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to
touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it
was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added
that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch
in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is
still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.
565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was
based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was
impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for
it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for
"noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.
838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.
778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them
gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has
none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all
are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals
and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati
in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few.
They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the
necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed
once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in
weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain
in weight forespelt welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they
mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning
the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old
practices.

1/ [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru.
--Analyst]

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions. 000 [838] 304 881 574 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them. 565 562

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f. 50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts. 527 574 548 435 567 535

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident. 554 565

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank] 178 466 622 565

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast. 533

582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous. After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a tendency toward endogamy.

326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris. They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and that men used types according to their own rank.

563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here. They live on islands.

463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.

286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kampong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time, and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye, but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.

224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on elsewhere. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.

346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.

The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-husband) marriage.

685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in some places girls will not marry a non-thief.

178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong, which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris. His father's photograph shows him in former years with it. It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
● 567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thousands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

M 565 Then there are four classes known together as merdeka, that is freemen.

7. tjera - anam
8. tjera - tudju
9. now no more
10. also now no more

M [567] Then from eleven on there are many kinds of slaves known as ata or hamba. And, slaves might have slaves! Thus there is rank even among the slaves.

M 565 554 The terms of address are: for radja, petah; and this term is used down to the fourth class of nobles, that of the tjera-tiga. For the fifth class, that is tjera-ampat, the term daeng is used and for the sixth class of nobles, that of the tjera-lima, the term pua. However, he said there was much variation, and that petah is used even among commoners. He said that the situation is even worse in the Makassarese area, where daeng, he said, means nothing any more as many people without particular rank in the noble classes use it. In the kampong

M 621 624 625 there are three subdivisions known as kampong ketjil: Bukaka, Tolangi, and Walena. There are four assistants known as seriang: three in Bukaka and one in Walena. There are five representatives known as wakil. They are like police.

C 631 I asked about the whole structure of the East Indonesian government and his uncertain statements went something like this: First is the negara [state, i.e., of East Indonesia]. The president is Sukawati, the premier, Anak Agung. There is then the Senate.

C [635] Second, there is the Daerah Sulawesi Selatan [District of South Celebes], at the head of which is the Ketua hadat tinggi (Arumpone). Then comes the Hadat tinggi comprised of fifteen radjas. From these a working committee of five members is formed. And finally there is the Dewan Sulawesi Selatan [South Celebes Council] consisting of four representatives from Bone.

C [634] Then there is the landschap [province], which makes the third division. The organization is as above and the Aru Pitu, the seven princes, are like a cabinet. They do not have a parliament yet but they have had elections and will soon sit. This body is called the Dewan Pertimbangan, consisting of twenty-one representatives.

The fourth cut is that of the wanua, with the thirty-one kepala wanua.

Finally, as the fifth division we have the kampong, headed by the kepala kampong and the assistant or seriang.

The new radja, chosen from [a certain] family, is selected

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouth-wash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
● 567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

although he told me that they were "his people". He said that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And even later, when they are no longer able to perform as padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry. The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot, and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, dead-pan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth. The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about before the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

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574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still dancing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
576 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
431 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
● 567 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
181 regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
798 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 588] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
● 567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes. 565 567 178

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status. 696 681 567 626 [684 588]

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set. 557 565 556

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners. 554 531

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the 178 554 342 565 531

6. tjera ampat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ĕppa, lima, ĕneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague. 565 197

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera ampat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be. 565 622 632

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands. 565 789 778 171

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago. 567●

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They 771 778 182 [797]

to tjera lima. The Buginese names are: tjitjing, dua, telu, eppe, lima, eneng, and pitu. They have declining degrees of royal blood. Between the tjera lima and the to detjeng, the uppers of the kampong, the line is vague. The latter can usually drag up a bit of royal blood somewhere. Down to tjera eppe (ampat) they are real nobles. 565

Then we got onto the subject of the present Radja. Andi said that he should not be telling me what he was, but that since I wanted to know he would be very frank. Formerly a person of only tjitjing rank could not be a radja. In the really old days this ruling was held to in one hundred per cent of the cases. The present Radja, however, is only of tjitjing rank. The exiled one is ninety per cent ana'matola. This latter fellow is evidently the Goa man who was put in by the Dutch almost twenty years ago, and whom they kicked out after the war for some reason. I get the impression that a lot of gossip goes on about this situation and that the present Radja is well advised to stick close to the Dutch.

Then we talked about the big households of the nobles. Andi's father has thirty in his house, and Andi himself has seventeen. He complains about his inability to support all of them on his salary. I asked him why he does not throw them out. He said that this just isn't done and that a man is proud to have a lot of people in his house. They are mainly nephews, nieces, young siblings and siblings-in-law, and old folks. When the young ones marry, they usually set up their own house. He then asked, "Who would cook, keep house, care for the children, etc?" I commented that one Dutch woman with a babu can do all of this, and he wilted, saying that upper women here just are not that way. Here again we see the entanglement of adat and the "right thing to do." 592 183

Andi said that the radja has many slaves. This is true of other nobles too. There are two kinds of slaves: (1) Those who freely admit that they are slaves, especially if they are slaves of real uppers, because they are usually proud of their masters. Of these there are not so many. (2) Those who get angry when their low origin is mentioned. 567

Thierens said that the Christian leader Denzo in Soppeng is being sent away. Despite his success in converting, Thierens continued, Denzo has been disgraced, because it was discovered that he was loose with women and that he has a girl in every kampong. Thus he has spoiled things 797 831

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

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The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

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Makassar 066
Toradja 0611

his status. The Kepala kampong repeated that there are many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actually regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners. He said that formerly there were many more slaves here, but that many went away when greater freedom of movement was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or more slaves. M 567

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik). M 565 851 582 567

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly could stand some case research.

In the kampong of Tolangi there are supposed to be a number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kampong said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called "To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese. Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watampone, lots of them living near his house. They come from all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much. M 563 T 186 167 191 177 M 565

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has to know whether a person has a slave background or not. They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched carefully. 582

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampong said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two M 764 174 [563]